2: Steinen--28 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate V

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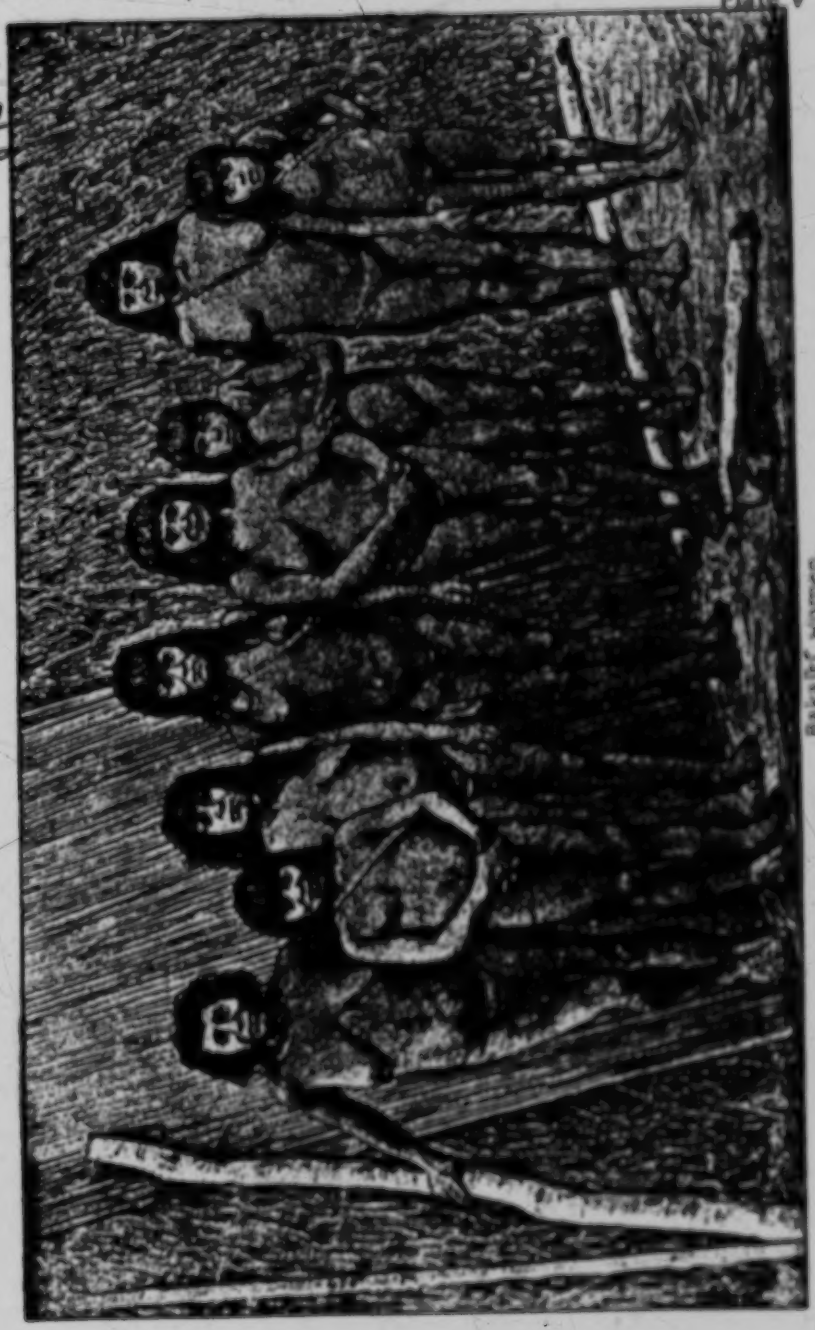

Bakairí women.

/68 cont./

intercourse between the two sexes goes back to a time when each man had to see to it that he had his wife for himself alone, sought to protect her from the lustful glances of his fellow tribesmen, and, for this purpose, used the clothing that developed either out of the pleasure of adornment or out ofreasons of utility. Then clothing itself became sacred. It is certanly an interesting parallel if we regard the naked Indians as in indecent lot and imagine ourselves in the soul of a Bakaïrf who would not know what to do out of shame if he saw the dreadfully indecent Europeans united at a table d'hôte. He wouldquickly become accustomed to it, however, and would perhaps the very next night dream that he was back on the Kulisehu, would find old and young cozily gathered together dining on a tapirroast, and would be astonished to be informed by the chief: "We always eat together now."

[512] Tobacco club. My friends were most natural in the evening after the day's burden and toil, when the men sat together smoking on the village plaza. A more harmles conviviality could scarcely be imagined, although, or if onewishes, because, there was no drinking. Punctually, with his long pipe, like the first of the people of rank at the table reservedfor the regular guests, stiff-legged old Paleko appeared, the spinle-shaped bundle of tobacco, a twig with leaves for wrapping, and a chunk of wood in his hands, and squatted down on the sittin beam, sighing contentedly. [516] My back soon became sore in the sitting position a handbreadth above the ground, and I would drag my oxhide out of the hut. A couple of sticks were placed togeter radially, along with the glowing chunk of wood, and a small fire kindled. The clay pipe was unknown; /69/ they smokeccigars or regular cigarettes, albeit 25 centimeters long. The leaf wrapping was still green and was held over the fire for only a few seconds; it gave off a balsamy odor. The cigar went out frequently; it was held against the embers to light it again. Occasionally one would have fire given to him from the cigr of his neighbor, but in that case he handed him his own which he other would put

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Bakaïrí

Tumayaua

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On the other hand, the swarm of "carapatos" (Ixodidae), the ticks stripped off and shaken down from leaves in great numbers as one goes through the forest, makes protection of the glans extremely desirable for the forest dwellers. These little parasites, in part very tiny, attach themselves to the skin, pump themselves full of blood, swell up to the size of peas as a result of their expansible body walls, and cling so tightly with the hooked tips of their maxillary feelers which sharply penetrate the skin that one tears them apart in trying to pluck them off, and painful inflammed areas are caused by the parts that remain behind. The Brazilian, who often comes out of the forest as though strewed with carapatos, hastily removes his clothing and shakes his shirt and trousers out over the campfire; if one of the parasites has bored into the glans, he goes after it with a burning cigarette as close to the body as his own sensitivity will permit, so that the little animal, tortured by the heat, will voluntarily give up its abode and withdraw from the mucous membrane without being torn apart. All of us, in spite of our clothing, have had to resort to this procedure at one time or another and have experienced the situation, before relief was achieved, as one of the most painful. I am also of the opinion that the protection which the Indians enjoy is more reliable than that of covering clothing.

How many other biting, pinching, sucking, increeping insects can in like manner afflict the South American forest dweller is familiar to every traveler who has sat on the ground in the Brazilian forest. These annoyances are most vividly made clear by the fact that it was the inhabitant of the South American tropical forest who was forced to invent the hammock, which the English and French still call "amáka" from the Nu-Aruak word. Forced certainly not only because of the wet ground of the Hylaea. The Indian very wisely averts such attacks somewhat by customarily sitting in a squatting position. The women, if they sit down flat during the scraping of mandioca roots and similar occupations which would be inconvenient to do in a squatting position, use a couple of flat pieces of bamboo, fastened together as an underlayer, even when they are in the house, which, of course, is crawling with ants. Their domestic tasks

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have made them less accustomed to squatting than the men, and they are therefore less protected. In the illustration on the next page /see p. 192/ a group of Bakaïrï from the second village shows very well the characteristic positions of both sexes in sitting or squatting.

In the case of the women, too, if protection of the mucous membrane was to be effected by their devices, this purpose would probably be achieved and certainly be achieved better than, say, the purpose of concealment. Furthermore, it should be realized that, assuming the purpose to be protection of the mucous membrane, a need for this was at least increased through sexual life, since in the case of the young /197/ woman the mucosa became more accessible, in the pregnant state more turgescent, and as a result of childbirth more slack.

Thus itwould indeed be improper, on the basis of local conditions, to doubt that the methods described could offer the adults of both sexes protection against external assaults and that there was no lack of occasions when they were bound to be useful in this sense. It would also be natural for young people to be duly furnished with them as early as the onset of puberty when they began to work with the older ones. The explanation, however, cannot possibly be exhaustive. For the importance and indispensableness of the devices are out of proportion to the idea /Fig. 19 appears here/ of protective apparatus. Why should they not have been removed more often, especially at night in the hammock? Why should the young men have been so intent on training the praeputium. Why should particular fun have been made one day about wearing the uluri or the cuff? The connections with sexual life must be direct and not merely indirect.

In the case of the female sex one encounters no difficulty. Suddenly bleeding appears; there is illness here. That the Indian thought this originally is clearly proved by the utterly superfluous medical treatment of the menstruating girl customary among most tribes, /198/ with isolation, fumigation, diet, incisions, and other remedies against the unknown foes. One neatly removed the pubic hair and donned a bandage, the bast loop, or a cushion, the uluri. The bast loop among the Trumaí women --

2: Steinen--192 E D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
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a combination of bandage and cushion -- is twisted like a rope, in the case of the uluri wearers the narrow bark strip makes possible the stretching over the perineum; in both bases there is provided a support pressing against the pubic symphysis, in the former case by means of the little roll, in the latter case by means of the springy triangle. One realizes that it was not cleanliness which prompted the procedure, but the medical attempt to counteract the loss of blood. These are truly not inventions of modesty, such as aprons or similar loose hangings.

Fig. 19. Squatting Bakairi.

In the case of the men, the explanation is not so obvious. Here, too, an attempt has been made to preserve the connection with a castrative, primary sense of modesty. The view has been expressed that shame was felt only when the glans of the penis was exposed to the gaze of others and therefore it alone was covered. Unfortunately, I did not observe anything that might settle the question directly. I saw that the people were not ashamed when they gave us their devices.

4-Schmidt--60 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate II

Fig. 1. Captain Antonio, Cacique of the Paranatinga Bacairi, in the year 1927.

4:Schmidt--61 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate III

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Fig. 2. Captain Antonio with his family in front of his house, in the year 1927.

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Fig. 3. Administration building at the Simões Lopes Post.

4:Schmidt--62 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate IV

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Fig. 4. House of the Bikairí. Pires, cacique of the Xinguanos in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 5. Cacique Pires with his family in front of his house in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--63 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bakairi SP7

Plate V

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Fig. 6. Bakairi house, in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 7. House of the family of the old Bakairi, Luiz, in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--64 ; E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bakairi SP7

Plate VI

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Fig. 8. The old Bakairí, Luju, from Maigeri alden, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 9. The Bakairí, Joaquim Carpintero, in Simões Lopes

4:Schmidt--65 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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Fig. 10. Bakairí Afonso, Luju's son, in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 11. Bakairí Hieronymo, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 12. Cacique Roberto, from the Rio Novo, with his family, in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--66 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate VIII

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Fig. 13. Bakairí, son of the Xinguano Kapinage, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 14. The author with Xinguanos in front of their house, situated near the Paranatinga.

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Fig. 15. Xinguano Paiguade with his son Ka'iura, in Cuiabé.

Fig. 16. Xinguano Ka'iura.

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Fig. 17. Xinguanos in front of their house, situated near the Rio Paranatinga.

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Fig. 18. Xinguano Kapinage
in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 19. Parantinga Xinguano bo[illegible]

Fig. 20. Rio Parantinga Xinguano[illegible]

4.Schmidt-Sp3 / E-3 (1901 1927-1934) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XI

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Fig. 21. House of Rio Paranatinga Xinguanos.

Fig. 22. Bakairí João Pedroso with his family in front of his house situated near the Rio Paranatinga